

SEEKING A PERMANENT PEACE THROUGH THREAT OF WAR

Theodore Marburg, Though Still a Pacifist, Says That German Defeat Alone Can Assure the Tranquillity of the World and Tells of Plans of the League to Enforce Peace

By EDWARD MARSHALL.

THAT only German defeat can make possible the tranquillity of the world is the view of Theodore Marburg, whose opinions are those of an American who is versed in international events and has studied the great war on the actual fighting ground.

Two things make Mr. Marburg's views especially impressive. One is that although he thinks it absolutely necessary that the war should be fought through to a finish, he is best known as a peace man. His present attitude is almost startling, as a matter of fact, to those familiar with his earlier lines of thought, although he is careful to explain that what the group with which he was working was trying to do was to change the conditions that made war possible and that until these conditions were changed it was folly for any great and rich country to fail to maintain a strong army and navy.

He has been a leader in the serious and important American group which has worked consistently and steadily toward the prevention of war for many years. He is indeed the author of "The Peace Movement Practical," published in 1910; of the "Philosophy of the Third American Peace Congress" of 1911 and many lesser studies of the general peace problem.

And there are certain aspects of the European situation which he is especially well qualified to interpret, first, because in a general way he knows Europe very well, and second, because particularly he was United States Minister to Belgium in 1912-13 and last year had an audience with the monarch of that unhappy nation.

He went to Europe in response to the painful news that his son, who early in the war joined the British Flying Corps, had been seriously wounded. He remained within the theatre of war two months.

"It was my privilege," said Mr. Marburg, "to meet some of the men who directly are conducting this great war and to see some of the mammoth operations which the great conflict entails. These men form a very interesting group."

"They deeply impressed me, Sir Douglas Haig particularly. His manner of retreat from Mons in which, he told me, he lost only 1,500 men, whereas Smith-Dorrien's forces were badly cut to pieces by making what some believe to have been an unnecessary stand, and the promptness with which he turned on the Germans when the time came with his forces practically intact and won the battle of the Marne stamp him as a properly cautious as well as a bold and resourceful man."

"I found but one purpose among all the British officers with whom I was thrown into contact, namely, a dogged determination to go on to the end. The beauty about the British soldier is that he stays put. There is no brag and no waste of energy about him, but an inward purpose to do his full duty. Before this war is over the British army will be one of the finest Europe ever has seen; in fact, it is proving itself such every day."

Mr. Marburg was greatly impressed by the waste in the present war. For example, into one place the Germans threw a certain number of shells from

a distance of twenty-three miles. A prominent officer calculated the cost, including the wear and tear of the enormously expensive gun which could do that, at \$1,000, or \$40,000. The net result was one dog killed.

"On another occasion 1,200 shells were thrown by the Germans into the British trenches and not one man injured," said Mr. Marburg. "When the result is nil one is fighting infinitely and the cost of the present war must prove a grievous burden to the laboring classes of Europe for many years to come."

Among Mr. Marburg's other experiences was a visit to the most striking figure of the war, King Albert, and his courageous Queen, Elizabeth, at his home at La Panne, a little fishing village in the corner of Belgium still held against the Germans. While he was with them the English fleet, which was close inshore, started to bombard Ostend and was promptly attacked by a German hydroaeroplane.

The King in speaking to Mr. Marburg referred repeatedly to America's unprecedented generosity to his stricken country. He said that but for what he did not know how the Belgian people could have been saved from starvation. Even now, he said, conditions in Belgium are unappealing.

The only industry which is active is coal mining. There is no raw material for general industry to use and besides the machinery from many of the factories has been carried off to Germany.

La Panne was subjected to an air raid but has never been shelled by the Germans, though they throw shells over it into Dunkirk. The brave little Queen goes about quietly, occupying herself with the soldiers and her creche for children. She found it very difficult for some months to get the parents to surrender their children in towns where people were being killed constantly, though of late the bitter lesson seems to have been taken to heart and she has been more successful.

The children at the creche run to meet her and cling to her gown as they might do to that of a favorite teacher or loved companion. She is a graduate in medicine and talked with understanding of the excellent work being done by American doctors in the Belgian hospital at La Panne.

From such details his conversation with this American, who has had such extraordinary opportunities to see this war at first hand, passed to a discussion of what in his opinion properly may be regarded as the right interpretation of the war for America.

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voluntary, and the war shows that this is not enough; that in other words the element of force must be introduced. This is the idea underlying our League to Enforce Peace and underlying the several plans worked out in England.

"Several years ago Hamilton Holt read a paper at Baltimore in which he advanced the idea of a League of Peace. At that time the idea of force in international relations was discounted. Holt, gradually, seeing how Germany blocked every step of progress at The Hague, witnessing her reception of Winston Churchill's proposition of a naval holiday, which Russia, France and Italy were willing to examine as a possible entering wedge against the mad rivalry in armaments, but at Germany seemed, some of us reached the conclusion that perhaps the only road to better international organization was over the prostrate body of Germany, the rest of the world combining to effect this passage."

"That is exactly what is happening now, brought on by Germany's own initiative; her outrageous assault upon a peace of Europe and her consequent behavior from the beginning of the war have left her only one progressive nation as an ally. This vent converted many men to the idea of force in international organization."

"In September, 1914, came Holt's article in the Independent on a League of Peace. This led to a plan to examine the question at a series of meetings, first of purely scientific men who would lay bare the subject and later of men of wider practical experience to tell us how much of the desirable plan worked out by the earlier group was in their opinion a realizable plan. The programme was carried out."

"This was the philosophy of what resulted from the deliberations of the first group: the moment a league is suggested men recall the leagues of the past, their shortcomings and abuses: the Quadruple Alliance and the Grand Alliance formed after the Napoleonic wars to keep Europe in order; the Holy Alliance, which professed to aim at advancing the Christian religion but which was really designed to protect thrones against the advancing wave of democracy and did in fact suppress liberal aspirations in Italy, Spain and Hungary."

"The Concert of Europe, with its few successes and its tragic failures, was recalled to mind. The conference realized that it had done some good things such as smashing the Turkish fleet at Navarino in 1827 and liberating Greece; that it had prevented more than one Balkan war, and had moderated the condition of the Armenians; but it had done nothing for the world's peace. But against its successes were arrayed its many failures, culminating in the war now in progress."

"Accordingly our first step was to wipe away the leagues of the past and 'start afresh.' I think the only thing found in the old leagues, namely the narrowness of the circle composing the group, making possible the domination of selfish interests, collusion and the spoliation of outsiders."

"The league of the future must be something different. To be successful it must be overwhelmingly strong and must do justice. To accomplish both these aims it should at the very start be composed of all or nearly

all of the great Powers, and the justice of its general attitude and actions would be markedly enhanced if to this group the other progressive nations were later added."

"We have achieved exactly that within our own borders in the United States. Out of the united action of forty-eight States, the original thirteen of which were sovereign entities, substantial justice emerges for all. And it is justice which must be the prime object of a league just as it is the prime object of society."

"True progress must be interpreted not in terms of numbers, growth of population and material products, but in terms of the spiritual and the intellectual; above all in terms of justice of justice between man and man, justice between employer and employee, justice between the State and its citizens, justice written in the law and interpreted in the courts, and justice of nation to nation."

"War is to be opposed principally because it is such a wholesale source of injustice. Not a body of just men sitting in judgment, but the fortunes of war determined whether after the Franco-Prussian war France or Germany was to pay a thousand million dollars indemnity, whether the countryside of the one or of the other was to be devastated."

"In Belgium, where the woman works beside the man in the cold rain of early spring and the excessive heat of summer, planting and harvesting the crop, building up a little home, rearing and educating their children and trying to accumulate a little to start the children in life, everything has been swept into the abyss. What definition of justice fits facts like these?"

"The actual death in war is its lesser evil. The physical suffering of the wounded is bad enough, but the essential harm of war comes from the fact that it suspends justice on a colossal scale."

"Consider the way civilized soldiery in this war have behaved on orders from superiors: a priest shot because he happened not to have the key to the church tower in his pocket, men doing their will on any woman or any man's property after the fashion of the powerful in the Middle Ages. If the possibility of such disaster is to be lessened we eventually must have a society of nations organized for justice, as society within the State is organized for justice, and it is to make a beginning in this direction that the League to Enforce Peace is planned."

"There are three stages in its conception:

"1. A true court of justice to supplement the existing permanent court of arbitration at The Hague."

"2. The element of obligation introduced to bind the signatories to use this and other existing international institutions."

"3. The element of force added to compel the recalcitrant to use it. In the desirable plan drawn up by the original group there was a fourth stage, namely, the use of force to execute the judgment of the court, but this was rejected by the group of men of practical experience, with exception of the League to Enforce Peace, which called together to tell us how much of our desirable plan they considered to be a realizable plan. The ground of rejection was that the great Powers could not be got to enter a league



which compelled them to take all their disputes before a tribunal for a hearing if there was to be a judgment which was enforceable."

"The present plan, therefore, stops with the demand that before any nation is allowed to make war upon another the dispute must be submitted to some sort of tribunal for a hearing. The league binds itself to make immediate war upon any member which violates this provision."

"There is no conformity to this demand, the nation which has a grievance is free to go to war as under present conditions. It is so reasonable a demand that no nation, however powerful, is likely to refuse it in face of the painful alternative, so that the league itself is not likely ever to be called upon to go to war. In other words, its potential strength, if great enough, need never translate itself into fact."

"If the league had been in existence when the present war threatened Germany would have been obliged to have a hearing of the dispute, which is all that she would have faced the certainty of having the league united in war against her. Many men believe that she would not have begun this war if it had been certain that she would have Great Britain as an enemy. Certainly she would not have begun it if she had known that not only Great Britain but Italy and the United States not to mention lesser Powers, would be arrayed against her."

"True, a nation bent on aggression might go through the forms of a hearing and proceed with its plans afterward. But bringing out the facts and the delay incident to a hearing would all make for peace."

"In the work that we are trying to do we have the cooperation of an ex-President of the United States, Mr. Taft, and we have Mr. Wilson's pronouncement of February 1 at Des Moines: 'I pray God that if this contest has no other result it will at least have the result of creating an international tribunal and producing some sort of a joint guarantee of peace.'

THE MASCOT OF THE FLAGSHIP

"WHERE is the Wyoming's mascot?" asked the little boy who had come a-visiting with his folks aboard the flagship.

In some way he had slipped away from his convoy and was now examining the big guns and having a yarn with the sailors.

"There's no mascot aboard this ship," replied the men to whom he addressed the question.

"No mascot?" questioned the youngster. "I thought every ship in the fleet had one. I know the North Dakota has. I saw it once, in a parade, a goat called Dynamite."

"Well, this ship had one too—some mascot he was. Never see the best of him; better than all your Dynamites and goats. We'll never see his like again, poor Fred! When we lost him we figured we never could get a mascot as good as he was, so we never tried to replace him."

"But where is he now?" asked the boy.

"Don't know," replied the boat's mate. "Maybe swimmin' around the Caribbean Sea or gone ashore at Curaçao."

"If he was such a good mascot I should think you would have kept him."

"We wanted to keep him, all right, but we lost him. He was a cruel and came to, poor old Fred! Fightin' Fred, we used to call him, because of his martial ways and the armor plate he wore along his sides."

"We got him down at Guantanamo Bay, when we were down there target shootin'. Some place, Guantanamo, my son. That's the place where nobody lives, and the dogs bark at strangers. And hot! Well, you can bet the natives don't live in igloos down there like Eskimos."

"Well, it was so hot the day this here mascot come aboard a hot, black, lookin' monster with horns and armor all over him, all lay on the deck eyin' 'em rather suspicious. Most of the fellows sheered off pretty quick and climbed up on the 12 inch guns, but Jimmy Legs says, 'Don't be afraid, he's had his breakfast.'

"Well," says Jimmy, "I was just walkin' down the main street near those two houses and the telegraph station when I met one of them Santiago Indians. This here Indian had a pair of blue pants on and was carryin' this poor little iguana mascot under his arm."

"Nice thing for a pet," says I. "Make a first rate mascot, he would." "No I chucked him a couple of pesos and he gave me the monster. Now

maybe we'll be able to plug a target or two," says Jimmy. "It's time we did. If we treat him right we may be able to hold a gunnery pennant one of these days or win a boat race."

"So we all gathered round and inspected the new mascot. He was a savage lookin' ant eater and no mistake. He was about 4 feet long and 10 inch beam and heavy armor amidships. The real goods, he was, too, for a battleship. We fixed him up a nice berth in the paint locker and the very next day we begin to plug targets right and left—30 hits out of 32 times at bat. That's goin' some, eh, after we'd been away down in the 30-60 class, you might say."

"We took especial good care of that prize iguana, you better believe. We fed him up on a special brand of cracker hash and the Chief Jimmy Legs took him out for a walk on deck every morning. One of the carpenters gave him a fine coat of spar varnish so he'd shine like a 12 inch shell."

"Well, sir, our gunnery kept gettin' better and better, and the day we beat the Delaware's record our old man was so glad he says: 'Well, it's all over, boys. No use the other fellows tryin'. We've got the red pennant cinched and it'd be a wonder if we don't all get medals for this.'

"I guess we would've won that gunnery flag all right if it hadn't been for the barber's canary. Yes, sir, that was what spoiled the beans—a pesky, chirrupin' little canary; leastwise, this barber said it was a canary, and that it could tell fortunes like one of them love birds from Fayal."

"This here barber was a German. He used to bark the world of his warbler, and that was the cause of all the trouble. It come about this way. 'It was in the early morning, and here comes Schmidt out with the canary to let the poor bird have a little air before we all begin to boil. He set the cage down in the shade alongside a turret and then went below for a minute. And while he was gone who should come along but the iguana. And what does this hard shelled gale monster do but eat up the barber's canary!"

"And Schmidt—well, Schmidt was a ravin' maniac when he saw what had happened to his pet canary. He swore we set the legs on the cage of purpose and he'd get square with everybody who had a hand in it. He'd have revenge, he said, no matter what it cost. We thought he might poison the poor mascot's soup or something just to get square. But we never figured on what he'd do and the treacherous revenge he took and all that."

"On this day that I'm going to tell you about we were havin' torpedo practice. There was only a week of gun practice left, and the Captain says: 'Go to it, boys. Keep up the good work and we'll fly that pennant from the masthead next Monday mornin'."

"Well, it was mortal hot this mornin'. Never forget that day if I live to be a thousand. Not a breath of wind, the bay like glass and down below there, firin' the torpedoes, it was just like bein' under the boilers. All of a sudden in comes a man dressed like a chief gunner's mate. He comes rushin' in furly staggerin' under the weight of a long cylindrical looking

on the part of the great nations. "The strongest men in the United States are cooperating and it is fitting that the initiative should come from the United States because it is their greatest league of peace in the world."

"This plan would call for the creation in our country of a strong army and navy, for we would be assuming an obligation. Although, as explained, we believe the league as such would never be called upon to go to war, its ultimate strength would be an important element in preventing war."

"It is manifest that disarmament cannot be brought about by agreement. Armaments will decline gradually when it is found that they no longer are needed, and that happy day can come about only through international organization for justice."

"I believe something of this sort is possible. I believed it before I left the States and I believe it even more firmly now that I have had so wonderful an opportunity to witness Europe in her great agony."

"The movement for stronger armaments in the United States already has begun. The example of Germany's initial successes owing to superior preparedness will bring an accentuated pace in armaments upon every nation in Europe. Unless all this is supplemented by a really efficient plan for international arbitration where will it lead us?"

"Personally I have no fear of any invasion of our country by any single enemy or likely combination of enemies. We are practically unconquerable. Our centre of power is in the middle West. We could destroy an invading army by organizing new armies in distant parts of our vast domain. But we need a strong navy to protect our seaboard cities, where incalculable damage might otherwise be done, and above all we need effective armaments so that we can do our duty to the world when a crisis like the present one arises."

"In England also there is a strong belief among leading men that the time has come to inject an element of force in international affairs. Several groups are studying the problem. The most notable is that headed by Lord Bryce."

"But no public propaganda is possible either in England or in France or Italy. The public have shown themselves too apt to interpret it as a step toward war movement and they feel that the war must not be stopped till Prussian militarism is overthrown. A change of spirit involving a change of government in Germany cannot be imposed from outside. It can come about only from inside the country, and there is little hope of revolution until Germany is beaten."

"When this change does come upon Germany it will be a country one can live with and work with, one of the most helpful and wonderful countries in the world. Most Englishmen I know have come to this conclusion, and all are quite determined to throw down that ruthless spirit of aggression which has animated her."

"Unless Germany is beaten our hope for better international organization must fail. The only hope for Europe, in fact, is a chastened Germany which has learned the lesson of defeat by the successes and remarkable results of the Franco-Prussian war."

ZIGZAGGIN' THROUGH PREPAREDNESS PATHS

By LIND C. DOYLE, Jr.

SEEN Kilatoo the day," remarked Finnegan. "He's no militarist. He says war would be bad for business. He says if there was a war he would move out too quick."

"Tis his kind is the bulwarks of the nation. Wild hearts of oak like that, faith, we need no forts nor guns. 'Tis poor work talkin' to them. Ye can't make a leopard skin a skunk nor knock spots from the Ethiopian, as the Good Book says. When the pinch comes the rabbits runs to the rear, and



Will We Be Ready? Finnegan Answers by Relating Awful Details of Campaign of Frightfulness Which Is Being Hatched In and Out of Washington

defence will make the grand strategy of Hindenburg and Von Turp look like a piker.

"As soon as war is imminent the output of Brylcrepe will be unlimited. Divvie a fear of our runnin' out of high explosives. The Diplomatic Corps will be trained to a hair by experts from the Underwood typewriter factory. Joe Danyels's inventors

principles, that'll throw an iron screen in the nine parts of an loaded iron of Wilson, gas twenty miles to sea. God help the enemy. Tis the last word in national defence. Ye can jam the automatic gun, but ye can't stop the automatic mouth. Praise God, 'tis invincible."

"The Diplomatic Corps, armed with deadly Underwoods, will be pushed to the front. The rain pesterful poor parlors on the foe, headless of death and mutilation. Oh, the wild charge they'll make! The roar of the enemy's artillery, the crash of the typewriters and the agonized rustlin' of the stationery as the demented ranks close sternly in will make a spectacle never to be forgot."

"The Infantry School of Potes will deploy on the Ohio line, whence they will maintain an indirect fire of war pomes, sparlin' neither age nor color. Oh, war is hell! The regular army, reinforced under the Hay bill be three hundred and seventeen millish, two jackasses and a toy balloon, will be sent into trainin' camp at Horse's Neck Beach, Massachusetts, to threaten the enemy's base at Spoonk, Long Island. There'll be a proclama-shun be the President."

"Whereas the enemy has landed on our coasts, destr'yin' our ports, slayin' our citizens, and imposin' an indemnity of ten billion dollars, which he has basely refused to compromise; and

"Whereas the said enemy will not consent to offer any of the excuses we have so generously provided for him. 'Now therefore I, Woodrow Wilson, President of these United States, by virtue of the powers hereinbefore, hereinafter in me vested by the Constitution and by laws, have thought fit to call forth, and do hereby call forth, all our trained forces, both naval and military, as well as the logicians, grammarians and professors of fellies letters, from the various States, to sucker our beloved land."

"And I hereby command the said enemy to retire at once to Conny Island, that we may complete our means of defence, or until a searchin' invistygashun shall justify another wild and bloody charge to the rear."

"I deem it proper to say that the first services assigned to the forces hereby called forth will be as follows: 'Ten thousand friends of peace, under Lieutenant General Brins, will breach the enemy's line with a concentrated fire of scraps of paper, after which a corps of statesman, armed with the decorous fortities of diplomacy, will outflank him with peaceful protests, that we may achieve a just, honorable and lasting surrender to him and to all nations."

"Board will inventory the inventions of all inventors as fast as invented. The highest intellects of the nation will be mobilized to its defence."

"When the enemy lands not a moment will be lost. There'll be a campaign of frightfulness that will horrify the world. The hostile fleet will be crocroy swept from the sea by the La Follette law. Excuses for the enemy will be made a Government monopoly. We'll mount five hundred thousand automatic mouths, on disappearin'

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their strong rock of office is their speed.

"We'll be ready when our turn comes, though. They're on the job to preparation. They're in a fever of bill and the Hay bill. Straw and chaff comes next. Woodthrow is readin' up the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, and way he'll be on his toes when the time comes. Himself is the thorough man. When we're attacked our NABs

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"Charge of the Light Brigade."